#43

Internal Bulletin

of the

R.W.L.

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For Members Only

FIFTH PLENUM MINUTES

July 2-3, 1938

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE.

FIVE CENTS

#1635

Minutes of Fifth Plenum
Revolutionary Workers League, US
Held in Chicago
July 2-3, 1938.

FIRST SESSION, Sat. July 2, 38 at 10:30 AM.

Plenum opened by comrade Oehler, National Secretary.
Present - CC members: Oehler, Streeter, Sold, Okun, Bertman, Grant.
- Young (YWL Buro rep), Cowan (Control Committee chairman).
- Kohlman (YWL NEC), Strong (YWL NEC), Hadley (Chi City Org).
Absent - -Negrete - arrested in Spain.
-Ried, Wiesenfeld - jail in NY
-Lorenz - In Washington on Negrete case.
-Angelo, Beardslee - work, personal conditions.

Bertman elected chairman for first session; Streeter secy of plenum. YWL Bureau reports that Young (with Kohlman as alternate) is to be its rep to the plenum until Wiesenfeld arrives. Accepted.

Communications: From Washington unit and from comrade Lorenz: "The Washington unit sends its heartiest revolutionary greetings to the 5th plenum of the RWL, US, vanguard in the fight for a new communist party. For a speedy release of comrade Negrete! For a soviet Spain! For a workers world!"

From Phila - "Revolutionary greetings to the 5th plenum from comrades Roth and Campbell. In spite of its present small size, the League faces tremendous problems arising from the crisis and intensified war drive of American imperialism. We feel sure that the plenum will further develop the Marxist line of the organ- to a concrete analysis of the tasks facing the proletariat andits vanguard the RWL, on the road to the new Marxist party and the proletarian revolution."

Agenda - Recommendation of PC : Organization of plenum, Programmatic draft, T U and Unemployed report, Negrete Defense, Orgl Report (including FW and 4th reports as sub points).

Motion by Grant - add youth question to the agenda, before point on org. Carried, Bertman and Okun against. Agenda adopted as amended.

Motion by Okun - In view of the fact that the youth leadership has failed to prepare any report for the PC, the plenum dispose of the youth question by appointing the natl and org secy as a special committee to take up the youth question and report back to the PC. Defeated, Okun for, others against.

Statement by Sold - "Comrades Oehler and Streeter have viciously fought in the PC the placing of the YWL question on the PC and plenum agenda. By devious burocratic moves they have succeeded in railroading thispoint out of existence. The last moment in violation of their own PC decision they changed their vote. This change, as stated by Oehler and Streeter, was not made for the purpose of solving the problem, but to show up the "bankruptcy" of certain individuals."

Statement by Oehler - "I changed my position on the placing of the youth question on the agenda, to reveal the correct position of the Buro and PC, and to reveal the false political position of those who take up the Plenum's time with an issue that does not belong here at present."

Motion by PC that in organizing the plenum we follow the same procedure and rules as in previous plenums. Cd. Motion that Streeter and Hadley be committee to meet with sympathizers and report to plenum on their sitting in. CD. Motion by Oehler to adjourn at 6 for the affairx and reconvene at 10 AM Sunday. CD.

1. PROGRAMMATIC DRAFT - REPORT BY OEHLER.

Motion by PC that report be given as a whole, discussion be chapter by chapter. CD. Substitute motion by Okun to have report, discussion and summary on each chapter separately. Defeated.

Discussion and motions on report.

Amendment by Hadley to draft, as line for women question - The proletarian vanguard fights for the liberation of all oppressed sections. We fight for the complete economic, social and political equality of women as one of these sections. We fight against the attempt of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class by making a distinction between the sexes on the grounds of natural male superiority, etc. 2) We recognize that women are conditioned by the training and subjection of class society. We work to overcome this by a struggle against sex chauvinism and to establish in the vanguard and in the class complete equality of opportunity between the sexes. Carried, by roll call vote, All for, except Sold not voting.

Amendment by Okun to draft, last section - In view of CI revisionism on socialism in one country we introduce greater detail on what is socialism. CD.

Amendment by Young to draft on point on ultra-leftism (attached #1). Not carried, roll call vote (R.C. #1).

Motion by Oehler - Plenum endorse the draft for content as amended. CD, All for (RC 2). Statement by Sold - I vote for with the statement that altho the draft is inadequate in its present form it contains in the main correct positions.

Motion by Oehler - a subcommittee of three be elected to write up the draft in final shape as quickly as possible. CD. The following nominations were made: By Oehler - Oehler, Okun, Streeter. By Streeter - Wiesenfeld. By Sold - Sold. The final vote left Oehler, Okun, Streeter, Wiesenfeld. Motion by Young that the four stand. CD.

Motion by Bertman - to have popular introduction to program explaining its purpose and reason. Referred to subcommittee.

Motion by Sold - if there is a dispute on the final draft when presented, the final approval be given by a plenum. Amendment by Oehler - if there is a dispute, the final approval be by roll call of the CC. Motion carried as amended.

Motion by Sold - All CC members have a copy of the final draft at least two weeks before the vote. CD, all for.

2. TRADE UNION AND UNEMPLOYED REPORT - OKUN

Plenum recessed following report.

SECOND SESSION, SAT. JULY 2, 38, 3:30 P.M.

Present - same as at morning session, plus Cooke (NEC YWL).
Chairman of session - Grant.
Discussion and motions on report.

Motion by Sold: "The near debacle of the RWL in the unemployed field in Chi was due to: washing out of our general unemployed line by the local comrades with the help of, and in the last three months under the leadership of, the PC; following an opportunist tactical line of deeper into the IWA which is a tiny sectarian class collaborationist outfit having no base whatever among the jobless or WPA workers; resistance to carrying on any independent activity in vergin territory, in spite of the fact that this was included in the plan of work for the Chicago local; consequently, in the present relief crisis, the RWL could not effectively intervene. This crisis presented and still presents unlimited possibilities but our sectarian line closes the door for the RWL. Defeated, R.C. 3.

Motion by Sold - The present economic crisis, the present relief crisis, the new relief cut, new cuts and layoffs on WPA - have made unemployment a burning issue in the city. The RWL on the basis of the above, and because the field is wide open, jobless and WPA masses are looking for leadership, the masses are ripe and ready for militant action, the workers are opposed to or at best apathetic to the IWA, the IWA is speedily disintegrating to the point of complete non-existence, not force economic or political, is making any attempt to capitalize on the situation, must adpt the perspective of the creation in the near future of an independent unemployed organization, by: continuing and bringing to a head our work in the IWA, and by beginning independent activity at once. Defeated, R C 4.

Motion by Kohlman - the natl t. u. committee function and meet regularly. CD.

Statement by Young - I vote for comrade Sold's second motion, but I dox not consider this to contradict the past general course in unemployed work in Chi".

Motion by Kohlman - trade union committee issue outline of Oehler's trade union class for the units. Referred to PC.

Motion by Kohlman - trade union committee issue general evaluation of local unit work, and an evaluation of tactical and strategical shifts in the trade union field. Referred to PC.

Motions by Hadley - The PC further analysize the railroad situation and publish material on our strategical tasks. CD. The PC attempt to consolidate contacts in railroad. Referred to PC. The RWL take and present position on current problems facing the unemployed workers mmm and in relief work. Motion by Sold to refer this motion to the units favorably through the PC. CD.

Motion by Oehler - that the exec comm of each unit proceed to concretize for its city the RWL line on trade union and unemployed and send to the NO a copy of these steps frequently in the form of leaflets, minutes, articles and actions. CD, all for.

Motion by Grant - PC elaborate and draw up perspectives on strategy for industries where we have a base and for the unemployed work with the aim of giving leadership and rooting ourselves among the workers. Motion by Streeter to refer to PC. Defeated by roll call vote - 5. Motion carried by roll call - 6.

Motion by Kohlman - in past period despite failure of the trade union committee to function, the PC has given the necessary political and orgl guidance for national industrial work. Amendment by Sold - except for Chi unemployed work. Amendment defeated, Sold for, others against. Orgginal motion carried by roll call vote - 7. Statement by Young - "It is obvious that the PC has worked on the general line for the situation as a whole, nationally. This was never challenged. What I spoke of was giving the line for specific national situations (relief crisis), industries nationally, etc. The report generally was correct, but any notion that the 'PC has given all necessary directives' in any field, is an attempt to decree perfection. I am not voting on Kohlmans motion because such blanket abstractions would be incrrect about any body at any time." Signed also by Cooke. Statement by Sold, signed also by Grant and Hadley, "This is a Stalinist method of rubber stamping a leadership".

Motion to accept the report. CD, roll call vote - 8. Statement by Sold - I am for the report with my motion as a statement.

Motion by Streeter - 5 voting members to constitute a quorum to start sessions tomorrow. CD. Session adjourned.

FIRST SESSION, SUNDAY, JULY 3, 38, at 10 AM.

Present - Oehler, Sold, Streeter, Okun, Grant, Young, Kohlman, Hadley, Strong, Bertman (late), Cowan (late), Booth (late).

Chairman of session - Okun.

Motion by Oehler to reconsider the agenda and take up the youth question next since reporter on Negrete campaign is not present. CD, all for.

5. REPORT ON YOUTH QUESTION BY OEHLER.

Minority report by Sold. Sold receives ten minute extension.

Discussion and motions.

Motion by Sold - "That in view of the fact that the YWL does not exist as an organization, this plenum recommend to the YWL NEC to call a special convention to liquidate the YWL as such. In its place we propose to establish an RWL youth committee and to establish local youth clubs wherever possible. The Young Worker shall continue to be published and special youth activity carried on as one of the most important phases of RWL work." Defeated, RC 11.

Motion by Hadley - "To clarify the position of the plenum in view of the positions presented in the discussion, the plenum reaffirms the previous plenum and convention decisions endorsing the line and work of the youth Buro". Ruled out of order by chair. An appeal against the decision of the chair was not carried.

Motion by Sold - to endorse the line and position on the youth of the last plenum and convention. Carried, roll call 12. Statement by Sold - I vote not

voting with the statement that I am in favor of reaffirming the 2nd convention position, but not of the last plenum".

Motion by Streeter - to reaffirm the decisions of the previous RWL plenums and convention endorsing the line of the YWL. Carried, roll call 13.

Motion by Grant - The axis of our evaluation of the past period of the work of the RWL in the youth field be 1) lack of sufficient political aid to the youth, failure to combat liquidationist tendecy - in spite of increased aid given to youth 2) the immediate bad situation in the YWL, however, is due also to the lack of forces in the center, absence of leading comrades, Wiesenfelds and Cooks absences, failure to get the out of town comrades into YWL, etc. Defeated, roll call 14.

Motion by Grant - "That the PC give leadership to the youth Buro in working out line for action on 1) the war drive - the application of the RWL line to winning the youth who are the main object of the drive and who's winning is essential to a successful fight against war 2) the relief crisis - a) winning the unemployed youth with special emphasis on vagrant youth as part of anti-fascist struggle because these youth are prey to facist influence b) linking it up to war drive in youth field, CCC, etc c) adopting a position on NYA and WPA 3) In industry - utilization of youth contacts in steel, etc, by line for youth in industry, political adaptation of youth slogans to problems of these industries, organizational steps to consolidate." Defeated, roll call 15.

Statement by Grant "When criticisms were made ofmy position to the effect that I had no concrete suggestions, I worked out several suggestions for coordinating the political work of the PC and youth Buro. The comrades who votedit down, did so offering no reasons, making no counter-suggestions, despite the PC report speaking of necessity of increased political aid to youth".

Motion by Cowan "There now exists elements of sectarianism in the leadership of the YWL, expressing itself in an organizational inner orientation which can only be eliminated by reorientatng the buro of the YWL to carrying out the line of the YWL among the youth by redistributing the forces of the YWL in such a manner as to strengthen the youth center and place YWL organizers in the field". Defeated, roll call 16.

Statement by Oehler -"Since the youth Buro in the past period really consisted of Young, Kohlman, and Oehler, these three comrades are the ones lableed as having elements of sectarianism."

Statement by Kohlman - I consider that there are elements of objective sectarianims in the leadership of the YWL, as stated in the Cowan motion, flowing from the sectarian factors in the origin and development of the YWL, andits past failure to correlate the maintenance of a functioning political center with carrying out its line in action in the worker-youth field on a national scale." Signed also by Strong. Statement by Okun - The motion of comrade Cowan on the youth applies in my opinion to Young, Wiesenfeld, Heller, Cooke, Kohlman. I consider the elements of sectarianism in the youth leadership has been decreased since the last plenum.

Motion to accept the PC report. Carried, roll call vote 17. Statement by Kohlman - For the report with the Cowan motion as a statement.

Session recessed at 2:39 P.M.

SECOND SESSION, SUNDAY, JULY 3, 38, at 3:30 PM.
Presens - same as at first session.
Chairman of session - Kohlman.

4. NEGRETE DEFENSE - REPORT BY COWAN.

Discussion and motions.

Motion by Streeter - 1) Launch the broadest possible campaign for the freedom and safe return of Negrete, and against the persecution of revolutionists in Spain by the Loyalist Govt and its suppression of workers democratic rights; in support of the revolutionary workers in Spain. 2) Mobilize the entire RWL and YWL for this campaign. 3) Axis of campaign be to present the League line on Spain, against Franco and against the PF, for independent working class action 4) Axis of

defense within above be on the class struggle basis - protests, mass meetings, mobilizing working class pressure, picketing pf Spanish consulates where we are strong enough (using u.f. for this if possible, etc). 5) Spread the defnse campaign nationally and internationally 6) launch united front campaign on class struggle basis, appealing to all working d ass organizations for such action, etc. 7) special issue of FW 8) handling of united front, FW, and concrete plans be referred to PC. Carried, all for.

Motion by Hadley - amendment to Streeter motion - the political axis of defense agitation be: within the framework of the line on Spain, attack nationalism of Loylaist govt in repudiating international aid, counterpose to Loyalist sell-out to the imperialists our line and action in giving international aid to Spanish workers, stressing that our line is the only way to defeat fascism. Defeated, roll call vote # 9. Statement by Cowan - Hadley's motion is extraneous in that it is better covered by Streeter's motion. Statement signed also by Oehler, Bertman, Okun, Booth, Kohlman. Statemnet by Hadley - My amendment is to stress a point which I consider particularly important. If it has already been decided on, the usual procedure is to vote for with a statement to that effect. The only way I can explain those voting against with Cowan's statement is a factional attitude which admits no good in those they oppose. I hold the same view on Sold's motion."

Statement by Hadley - "When Grant asked to have her name put on the speakers list, Okun interjected, 'Cant we unite on the defense of Negrete without little factional squabbles!' He again shows a burocratic subjective attitude of rejecting in advance all suggestions or criticism with which he does not or may not agree. Further, if unity excludes discussion, then Okuns idea of unity is a burocratic one also."

Motion by Sold - include inthe special issue of the FW the following contents: non-intervention committee, present situation in Spain, role of GPU. Defeated by roll call vote # 10. Statement by Streeter - The editorial board and PC have already decided to c n ain our line on Spain and the present situati on." Statement concurred in by Oehler, Okun, Cowan.

Report by Oehler of Stamm letter and wires that League shall call off class struggle defense of Negrete and of persecuted revolutionists in Spain, and proposing instead "joint action" on Stamms class collaborationistx legal defense basis.

Motion to approve PC decision appointing a subcommittee to handle this on the basis of the plenum line for the campaign. Carried, all for.

Motion to accept Cowan report on Negrete defense. Carried, all for.

5. ORGANIZATION REPORT - STREETER. Sub reports on FW by Okun, on 4th by Grant.

Session recessed at 6:30 P.M.

THIRD SESSION, SUNDAY, JULY 3, 1938, 7:30 PM.

Present - same as at last session.

Chairman - Bertman.

Motion by Bertman for closed session (open to plenum members only). CD.

Motion by Okun for open session (to RWL). Defeated. Motion by Grant to table question of alternates to PC, et, till after conclusion of discussion and voting on org report. CD.

Amemdment by Grant to org report point on perspeictive: "Our main political drive in the coming period must continue to be the war drive - in the FW, thru a Workers Vote campaign, our unemployed and trade union work. The momement of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class to the right (due to the prssure of the pre war period) presents us with an opportunity to make our position clearer as the only org capable of answering the problems of the class. We must continue to work out and present our position on all important problems; in the press, etc; work in auto and steel to consolidate our base in these key industries; tie up the unemployed work (relief situation) with our political and anti-war work; attempt to start anti-militarist work; especially among contacts in the National Guard". CD, roll call 18. Amendment by Sold - strike out point on

workers vote in Grant motion. Defeated, Sold for, others against.

Motion by Cowan - the plenum instructs the PC to further concretize the line of the RWL on unemployed work in the light of the experiences of the organization and the new objective developments in the past period. The PC to put this point on its agenda within two weeks." Carried.

Motion by Cowan - In order to give life to the intent of this plenum to root the RWL deeper in the masses and to broaden its organizational base among the adult workers and youth, theplenum recommends to the national youth bureau the transfer of comrade Kohlman immediately to the Cleveland unit of the RWL, and assigninghim to orgl work for the RWL and YWL in the Cleveland area." Amendment by Oehler - to be done on the basis of a functioning buro beingleft behind, immediately if possible. Amendment carried by roll call (19). Cowan motion as amended carried - RC 20. Statement by Bertman - I am for Cowans motion without the amendment. Motion by Hadley to table Cowan motion and amend. Def.

Motion by Hadley - organize a workers vote campaign around the issue of the war drive, to culminate in the congressional elections in the fall. Amendment by Oehler - the execution of the motion be referred to the PC, the campaign to be organized wherever the units are strong enough." Carried as amended, all for except Sold, against.

Motion by Sold to establish the perspective of a bi-weekly FW in the winter. Defeated, Sold for, Young abstaining, others against.

Amendments by Sold to the Org report: 1) Draft program - the draft program in its present form is inadequate altho itx shows definite progress. Def. Sold for, Hadley not voting, others against. 2) May 30 YWL campaing - in essence it was a failure. Defeated, Sold for, Strong not voting, others against. 3) Chi unemployed work - RWL in the unemployed field recieved a vital setback due to its falsetactical line. Defeated Sold for, others against. 4) YWL - the YWL in the past two months has ceased to exist as a national organization, Def, Sold for, others against.

Motion to accept the org report as amended. CD, roll call 21.

Motion by Sold to remove Sold from the PC. Defeated, roll call 22.

Motion by Oehler - 1) PC investigate if and how soon comrade Lorenz could transfer to the center 2) if this can be arranged without jeopardizing NY work 3) Add Lorenz to the PC. Carried, R C 23. Amendment by Sold - to place Lorenz on PC, the PC to work out arrangments to bring Lorenz to Chi. Defeated, roll call 24. Statement by Grant and Young "For Oehlers motion with the understanding that Lorenz is to come out as soon as possible."

Motion by Oehler to add Okun to PC as an alternate. CD, roll call 25.

Motion by Sold - if the transfer of Lorenz is contingent on his being replaced, the PC immediately take steps to arrange this. Motion by Oehler to refer this to the PC. CD.

Motion by Oehler the next plenum be in November, the PC to arrange city and date by roll call of CC. Carried, Sold against, others for.

Motion to refer question of Wiesenfeld to PC. CD.

Plenum adjourned at 1:30 A.M. with the singing of the International.

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4TH REPORT - cont. from page 7.

more organizedly the current problems in the movement - to become in this way more of a distinct force. This also will interest the membership more and encourage spreading the 4th.

IV. Organizational Status. Even tho the 4th is so important it has suffered somewhat of a decline in relation to the FW. The regular printed FWx puts a mimeod 4th under a handicap. Sales have fallen off. Fewer copeis have been run forcing us to cut free list. V. Plans for Improvement - A. Technical - new cover, table of contents, dateline, mast head, strait edge, etc. Regular appearance. B. Content - broaden out in sense referred to above. Systematize more the content to deal more with current problems and lay down theoretical line for them. C. Draw more comrades into writing. Attempts already made in this direction. D. Campaign planned to put 4th on paying basis - sub plans, circulars, etc. E. Improvement already made has been noticed by all. further steps will capitalize. VI. Conclusion - Theoretical organ must be pushed more (steps and plans mentioned.) Must not be effaced by FW. One minus the other is one-sided. Theory of Marxism is paramount because without thatx there can be no revolutionary activity.

FIGHTING WORKER REPORT - OKUN.

I. What we accomplished

A. Political: 1) Paper reflects our orientation more than ever before: a propaganda group with a mass work orientation. 2) It reflects our work, especially in the class struggle, more than it has in any precedingperiod. 3) More rounded in its newww contents. 4) Has served, becuase of regularity the 4 pager, and improvement, as a greater party organizer than ever before 5) More stress on organizational League life 6) staff is more collective. 7) two pamphlets, one in preparation.

B. Technical: 1) Regularity ofpaper - five issues, all on time, andnow special Negrete issue. 2) Slight improvement in make up and printing. 3) Gain in bundle orders of 655 last month, 100 this month.

II. Shortcomings-

1. No man power for technical work. Most of it done by PC members. Emma 2) Have not yet created a stable financial base for the paper. 3) Journalistic style, altho slightly improved, showa no great progress. 4) Technical work still poor (altho it is highly commended by a printing expert who knows our problems and inexperience). 5) response to paper fine in many places: Cleveland, Chi, St. Louis, Phila. Very weak in Columbus, NY, Springfield, Davenport. We must correct these definiencies. 6) Practically no attempt anywhere to get ~~mmmm~~ subs.

III. Perspective:

1) continued publication despite summer month lag. 2) Gain a better financial base. Ask the units to take out loans of $25 or more. 3) Attempt to build up Bundle orders to sympathizers and friends as well as units, andincrease free list. 4) Two new pamphlets. Try to get them financed. 5) A more serious drive for subs. 6) We can not lay down at this time a perspective for bi-wkly but we must gear up distribution, get stable financial base and technical help, as steps in that direction.

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4TH INT'L REPORT - GRANT.

I. General function is to present our line to the class. The FW is our masspopular organ; the 4th is our theoretical organ; dealing in detail with analyses of, strategy for, general line for, problems facing the class. Both organs together present a rounded position to the lcass; both necessary ~~mm~~ if we want to be a revolutionary Marxian organization, participating in and leading the struggles of the class.

II. What Should such a theoretical organ contain? Generally, divided into

A. Articles on economic political, and social problems - our analysis and answer.

B. Articles on opponents organizations and current s, auxiliary to A - dealing with the above also, but at the same time taking up the developments withing these organizations. E G - Articles on CP- we criticism CP convention positions and slogans in FW, we analyze the theoretical, developments underlying these in the 4th. C. Articles on currents in art, developments in science(relation to materialist concept of history) and philosophy, etc.

III. How carried out in past: We have had

A. Articles on political, economic, ans social problems: Plenum documents American imperialism, recession, Revisionism andBurocracy, Mex Oil, Roosevelt Program for Youth. On this last we should have more as well as make a definite attempt to have articles on other oppressed strata. 4th must be braadened in this sense.

B. Opponents articles - Field, POUM Left Wing, Stamm (Revisionism and Burocracy) Trotskyites (Mex Oil).

C. So far only article in thmird category (art, science, etc) has been Dial Materialism series.

Our organ must be broadened to be a theoretical magazine and to answer

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d. The striking power of the league, through the press and its trade union, tours, and other activity, has increased since the 4th (April) plenum. The press has been the largest single factor in this progress. (Separate reports are listed on the FW and the 4th).

a. The completion of the programmatic draft, presented to the plenum for approval and now to be written up and published, gives us for the first time a rounded theoretical presentation of the Marxist program in one document. This achievment will strenghhen our blows tremendously in the class struggle.

b. Since the April plenum we have conducted the following campaigns
1) May 1st - open air, indoor, and house meetings nationally
2) May 30 Memorial Day anti-war campaign of the YWL, supported by the RWL
3) Against Roosevelt's war plans - 3 months campaign
4) Relief crisis - Cleveland and Chicago
5) Streeter defense- we were able to forse a dismissal of the case

c. Trade union work (Listed here, will be taken up in the trade unionChicago ion and Unemployed report.)
1)/- Work in the office workers unions, in IWA, in WPA organizing committee, etc.
2) - Cleveland - Assoc of Unemployed, work in relief crisis
3) Detroit, St. Louis, Columbus, Springfield, - trade union activity.
4) Railroad leaflet
5) Washington activity in WAA
6) Michigan CIO conference - Bertman and Streeter

d. Tours and field work:
1) Okun to east coast for FW
2) Oehler to Kansas City, St. Louis, and coal fields
3) Wiesenfeld and Hadley to Columbus and Springfield for May Day meetings
4) Okun to Canada for contact work and Field convention
5) Bertman to upper Michigan, our forst penetration in this area
6)

e. Field Convention - Okun as RWL observer. League made inroads and contacts, secured first hand information on Canadian Fieldites.

f. Washington "Anti-war" conference - handled by Strong from NY and by Washington comrades

The League showed renewed recruiting ability in a small gain in members: 3 new members in Cleveland, 1 in NY, 2 in upper Michigan as a result of Bertman's trip, plus the drawing closer of a number of sympathizers in Kansas City, St. Louis, Springfield. A new unit has been established in KC.

Some steps were taken toward developing a collective leadership.

2. Shortcomings-

a. The biggest ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ shortcoming is the failure to establish a functioning political center. Some steps have been made in this direction but far from adequate. The Political Committee is still forced to be too much of an administrative body. Related to this is the lack of a technical staff, and the failure to organize what we have more efficiently.

b. Improved collaboration in the PC has not corrected the bad tendency of PC and CC members, particularly in the Center, to dispute in the lower bodies, instead of confining their differences to the PC. Attempts to draw out of town CC members into the Center for work have been only partially successful.

c. We were not able to bring Negrete back from Spain.

d. While we made advances in unemployed work in Chicago, the center unit, our attempts to builda Progressive Group in the IWA fell through, as outlined in the PC motion of June 11.

e. We have not yet overcome the effects of the Stamm split. This politically bankrupt group, retaining the name RWL, discredits the League with its material and has a negative effect. In NY, where the Stammites had a majorty of the unit and the hqrs, the comrades have been functioning under this handicap. Some progress has been made (unemployed work, street meetings, student work,)but a number of opportunities have been slipped up on (CP convention, Hague New Jersey situatio, no reaction th the military maneuvers in upstate NY, etc.

f. Training school - Due to the lack of response from the units, we were unable to go through with the school. Our small forces, the Stamm split, the absence of the FW for months, caused a setback which the recent activity and the regular appearance of the FW did not have time to overcome. Individual financial problems was another aspect.

g. The YWL has fallen down seriously, Its center has functioned poorly. The national and organizational secretaries were both out of the center for over a month. The RWL gave political and org'l aid by selecting its nat'l sec'y as a rep to the Buro, opening the 4th material to the youth, local aid in Chicago, aid through the YW whose appearance has been a plus. More attention and emphasis must be given the YWL in the next period.

3. Tasks-

a. The entire League and YWL must be mobilized around the Negrete campaign. Deyailed plans are taken up.as a separate point.

b. We must put the programmatic draft in shape editorially, and attempt topublish it by the next plenum.

c. Work to drive the League into mass work on the League line, root our comrades into such work.

d, Streggthen and extend the bases of the League through tours in the next months to the east and west coasts, and if possible to Canada. Send a colonizer into Cleveland.

e. Build a functioning political center and a collective leadership. Develop new comrades. The comrades of the CC must be drawn more into the work of the center; the leading body must function collectively and aim to establish a greater collaboration. The PC must arrange to have more discussions of a political character and provide opportunities for self study and development. This will also be beneficial to the membership. On the other side the PC must tightem up, function as a centralized disciplined unit. PC and CC members must set the example to the membership in activity, discipline and responsibility, and in organizing thier personal lives arouhd the League. This whole question must be posed on the background of political and practical activity in the class struggle, just as the question of a functioning political center and developing new comrades is ameans to develop and apply our line more effectively.

f. Aid the YWL politically and organizationally through the YW. The key problem of the youth is to establish a functioning center again.

g. Carry through the tasks established by the Convention and the last plenum (membership drive, etc. etc.).

4. Perspective- Our main political drive in the coming period must continue to be the war drive - thru the FW, thru a Workers Vote camp., in our unrmployed and trade union work. The movement of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workingclass to the right (due to the pressure of this pre-war period) presents us with the opportunity to make our position clearer as the only organization capable of answering the problems of the workingclass. We must continue to work out and present our position to the workers on all important questions - in our press, etc; work in the steel and auto industries to consolidate our base there; tie up the unemployed work (relief situation) with our political and anti-war work; attempt to start anti-militarist work, especially among the contacts in the National Guard.

In the next period despite the negative factors, if the League can drive forward and eliminate the shortcomings, we can expect a further increase in striking power and a small gain in membership.

(Amendment by Young to point on ultra-leftism in draft- Not carried, see RC 1)

1. The fundamental distinction in the working class movement is between a) those who, recognizing the contradiction between the working vlass and capitalism, work to push this contradiction to its only possible synthesis, Communism; and b) those whose work objectively holds back the development of the contradiction, that is, who serve objectively to tie the working class to its enemy.

The distinction within the latter camp is according to the method and theory by which the progress of the working class is impeded.

2. The obvious and the main theoretical basis is that of reformism, that is, that the road for the working class lies in collaboration with the bourgeoisie, use of the bourgeois state for its ends, etc.

But this itself is not sufficient to serve as an effective agent of the bourgeoisie. Reformism must be supplemented by a) centrism - whose essence is, while verbally declaring itself for irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state, not to act against them, and

while declaring the need for workers independent organization and seizure of power, to divert all movements to this into reformist channels of action; and b) Ultra-leftism - whose essence lies in "answering" the essential problems of the working class by denying any positive solution for them. It acts as an aide to class collaboration by eliminating any other channels of action. (For example, when the question of power is on the agenda, the ultr-left either opposes the workers' state or so defines it as to make it impossible of achievment - thus turning masses back to the capitalist state and class collaboration.)

4. These currents include among them all non-Marxian currents in the political labor movement. However, there cannot be a "pure" reformism or centrism or ultra-leftism. The various groups will switch positions on immediate issues according to the needs of the situatiion, to their traditions, etc. The non-Marxist organization approximates a certain political position, but being itself in motion, its program and relationships are also constantly in flux. We term organizations reformist, centrist, or ultra-left to define the form and nature odf their deviation and our tactics in dealing with them.

Roll Calls.

Key.

1. Young amendment to draft program on point on ultra leftism.
2. Oehler motion to endorse draft as amended for content.
3. Sold first motion on Chi unemployed work.
4. Sold second motion on Chi unemployed work.
5. Streeter motion to refer Grant's motion on t.u. and unemployed directives.
6. Grant motion on t.u. and unemployed directives.
7. Kohlman motion on PC guidance for national indurstrial work.
8. motion to accept the t.u. and unemployed report.
9. Hadley amendment to Streeter motion on Negrete defense.
10. Sold motion on contents for special Negrete issue of FW.
11. Sold motion to liquidate YWL.
12. Sold motion to endorse previous plenum line on youth.
13. Streeter motion to reaffirm previous RWL endorsement of line of YWL.
14. Grant motion on evaluating RWL work in YWL.
15. Grant motion on line for youth work.
16. Cowan motion on sectarianism in YWL leadership.
17. Motion to accept report on youth.
18. Grant motion on perspective, as amendment to org report.
19. Oehler amendment to Cowan motion on Kohlman for field work.
20. Cowan motion on Kohlman for field work as amended.
21. Motion to accept org report.
22. Motion by Sold to remove Sold from PC.
23. Oehler motion on Lorenz for PC, and on investigating possibility of coming to center.
24. Sold amendment on Lorenz.
25. Oehler motion to add Okun as alternate to PC.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Oehler	A	F						F	As	As	A	F	F	A
Bertman	A	F	A	A	F	NV	F	F	As	A	A	F	NV	A
Streeter	NV	F	A	A	F	NV	NV	F	A	As	A	F	F	A
Okun	NV	F	A	A	A	A	F	F	As	As	A	F	NV	A
Grant	F	F	A	NV	A	F	As	NV	F	F	A	F	F	F
Sold	NV	Fs	F	F	A	F	NVs	Fs	NV	F	F	NVs	NVs	A
Young	F	F	A	Fs	A	F	NVs	F	F	F	A	F	F	F
Consultative														
Booth									As	A	A	F	NV	A
Cowan	NV	F	A	A	NV	NV	A	F	As	As	A	F	NV	A
Kohlman	A	F	A	A	NV	F	F	F	As	As	A	F	F	A
Hadley	F	F	A	A	A	F	As	F	F	F	A	F	F	F
Strong			A	A	AB	AB	NV	F	A	A	A	F	F	As
Cook			NV	NV	NV	NV	As	NV						

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Oehler	A	As	F	A	F	F	F	A	F	A	F
Bertman	A	F	F	A	A	F	F	A	F	A	F
Streeter	A	A	F	NV	F	F	F	A	F	A	F
Okun	A	Fs	Fs	F	F	A	F	A	F	A	F
Grant	F	A	F	F	F	NV	F	A	A	F	F
SOLD	A	A	A	F	NV	NV	NV	A	A	F	A
Young	F	A	F	F	F	F	F	A	A	F	F
Consultative Votes											
Booth	A	A	F	A	F	F	F	A	F	A	F
Cowan	A	F	NV	NV	A	F	F	A	F	A	F
Kohlman	A	Fs	Fs	NV	NV	F	F	A	F	A	F
Hadley	F	A	F	F	F	F	F	A	A	F	F
Strong	As	Fs	F	F	F	F	F	A	F	A	F

A - Against
F - For
NV - not voting
AB - abstaining
As - Against with statement.